1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Again, as will be seen later the villagers who fit this description—wealthy, educated, with many outside contacts through family—have usually been members of the landlord class.

While in most instances these village officials are among the recognized leaders of the community, there are usually in addition informal, nonelected local leaders who are influential in the village and area. Such informal leaders are very often also wealthy landlords, important in their kinship group, and many times wield a great deal of power from behind the scenes. Informal leaders also may be drawn from the ranks of less wealthy men who, by virtue of their education and perhaps age as well as past displays of community responsibility, have gained the respect of the community.

Each village household has a single vote in the selection of any village official. The job of *lin chang* is relatively insignificant, and although a formal election is held, the *lin chang* is usually selected in advance by consensus of the families in the *lin*. But this is not usually the case with the mayor and village representative. Both positions have a rather high prestige in both the village and area, and as a result there may be competition for these offices. If there is competition, it is usually between men who represent the natural cleavages in the village. These cleavages for the most part follow kinship lines.

Many relationships within the village are greatly affected by kinship. Often, especially during elections or in times of conflict, there tend to be alignments between socially integrated exogamous family groupings on the basis of their relationship through patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence. Because of their demonstrated common descent, such village kinship groupings interact in various activities so that they exert considerable sociopolitical influence in the village and at times, to some minor degree, in the immediate area. While one localized grouping has a population of about one hundred and thirty-five, and another slightly below one hundred, other groupings have fewer people and member families, and also lesser influence in the village. Each of the groupings, however, is similarly organized with a main group head and subheads of smaller descent lines or groupings, and each attempts to compete in village affairs for the benefit of its members. The villagers refer to the above groupings as *tsu* (lineages), even though they are far from being the equivalent in size and organization of the *tsu* described and discussed by Hu (1948) or even Freedman (1958). (This and other such matters on family and kinship organization will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.) Thus, Hsin Hsing, like so many other villages in Taiwan as well as in Fukien, is a multi-*tsu* village. (Within each village *tsu*, collateral relatives refer to each other as *ch'in tsu*, meaning relatives of the same *tsu*.) But since the *tsu* in Hsin Hsing village are not large in population, all members also use appropriate kinship reference terminology for each other.)

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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61 551 361 618 614 361 [342] together—in a compound or in several houses in close proximity; they are also usually in the same *lin*. (See Chapter 5 for a complete discussion of kinship patterns in the village.) For example, most of the Huangs live in a single very large house, the Shens occupy several separate houses which form a sort of compound, and the Shihs live in adjacent houses. However, not all of the village's K'ang families came into the village at the same time or trace their descent through a common ancestor, nor do all of the Shih families, nor all of the Huangs. The lack of a common demonstrated ancestor and therefore of a *tsu* relationship on the part of some families with the same surname is also evidenced by their separate locations in the village as can be seen with the several K'ang family groups and the two Shih family lines. The village map shows the tendency of related families to cluster together as closely as possible.

342 The houses of the villagers, at least the original sections built, are of one basic type; they vary mainly in size. The basic structure is a single length of rooms, with the ancestral-worship room in the center, flanked by one or two rooms on either end which are used for sleeping and cooking. Many houses in the village have been enlarged by the addition of wings which give the dwelling an L or U shape, but most of them were originally built according to the basic plan.

When a family increases, as when it is extended through the marriage of sons, the house is usually enlarged. As the family continues to increase, more and more wings are added when finances permit. Sometimes these wings are added in a fairly orderly way, and sometimes they are added in such a random fashion as to make the house a kind of maze. Each household or nuclear family then has its own apartment [592] in the large house. However, there are only three houses in Hsin Hsing which have been enlarged in this manner. (See Figures 1 and 2 for diagrams of enlarged houses.)

342 621 Other families tend to build new houses near the original family house rather than add wings. Over the years, each of these individual houses is expanded to fit the new housing needs of the growing family. Interspersed throughout the village are the smaller houses of families which are either made up of very small groups or are completely unrelated to any other family in the village.

621 575 However, relationships between village families cross kinship and even village lines. For example, several kinds of associations draw unrelated village families together: a Mother-Father Association which aids member families at the time of a death; sworn brother groups; moneylending societies; a Farmers' Association village membership unit; small local cooperative pumping station associations and an area Water Conservation Association for maintaining irrigation systems; and a Mother-Sister Association (somewhat similar to a Parent-

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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(only civilians) who came from the mainland in the postwar period (HRAF, Taiwan, 1956:75). But even in 1940, when the Taiwanese population was more settled and the mainlanders had not yet arrived, the ratio was still 102:100. However, in a discussion Professor Chen Shao-hsing has noted that the latter ratio includes Japanese and that for Taiwanese only it would be closer to 101; 100.

TABLE 3

CRUDE RATES OF BIRTHS, DEATHS, NATURAL INCREASE FOR HSIN HSING VILLAGE, PU YEN HSIANG, 1956–1957

		Number of births per 1000	Number of deaths per 1000	Natural rate increase per 1000	Percent of natural increase
Hsin Hsing	1956	46.80	7.80	39.00	3.90
	1957	41.93	6.21	35.72	3.57
Pu Yen	1956	46.73	9.21	37.52	3.75
	1957	40.04	9.74	30.30	3.03

TABLE 4

CRUDE RATES OF BIRTHS, DEATHS, NATURAL INCREASE FOR TAIWAN, HSIN HSING VILLAGE, PU YEN HSIANG, 1955–1957

	Average number of births per 1000 persons	Average number of deaths per 1000 persons	Average natural increase per 1000 persons	Average percent of natural increase
Taiwan 1955–1956	46.5	8.5	38.0	3.80
Hsin Hsing 1956–1957	44.4	7.0	37.4	3.74
Pu Yen 1956–1957	43.4	9.5	33.9	3.39

for Taiwanese only it would be closer to 101:100. But in the rural area of Pu Yen Hsiang, and especially in Hsin Hsing village, there are many more females than males registered with the Hsiang Public Office. This apparently is an indication of the increasingly greater mobility of men to urban areas to find work. (This increasing mobility will be discussed in detail in later sections.)

As noted earlier, the 1958 population figures for Hsin Hsing village list 657 persons living in 115 households (*hu*) or an average of 5.71 persons per household. For all of Pu Yen Hsiang in 1958 the average

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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number of persons per household was 5.83. These figures can be seen in Tables 7 and 8. The size of the average household for all of Taiwan was 5.5 persons (Statistical Abstract of Republic of China, 1955:27).

In Hsin Hsing village households have practically no outsiders, either relatives outside the immediate family or servants of any kind.

TABLE 5

SEX RATIO, HSIN HSING VILLAGE
(Females = 100.0)

	1953	1954	1956	1957	1958	Average
Male	280	303	302	312	320	
Female	305	309	339	332	337	
Sex Ratio	94.8	98.1	89.1 [a]	94.0	95.0	94.2

[a] There is no apparent reason for this drop in 1956. It may possibly be a result of a statistical error in the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office records.

TABLE 6

SEX RATIO, PU YEN HSIANG
(Females = 100.0)

	1953	1954	1956	1957	1958	Average
Male	12,508	12,946	13,239	13,441	13,572	
Female	12,581	13,014	13,466	13,784	13,909	
Sex Ratio	99.4	99.5	98.3	97.5	97.6	98.5

TABLE 7

AVERAGE NUMBER OF PERSONS PER HOUSEHOLD,
HSIN HSING VILLAGE, 1953–1958

	1953	1954	1956	1957	1958
Total population	594	612	611	644	657
Number of households	109	112	115	115	115
Average number of persons per household	5.45	5.46	5.57	5.60	5.71

There are relatively few families of what is commonly called the joint type, composed of parents, unmarried children, and more than one married son with his wife and children. There are a number of the so-called stem type, generally composed of a parent or parents, the unmarried children, and only one married son with his wife and children. Most households in Hsin Hsing are the nuclear type, composed

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of parents and their unmarried children. (This material will be discussed in more detail under family and kinship in Chapter 5.)

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As Tables 7 and 8 show, there has been a gradual increase in the number of persons in the average household in both Hsin Hsing and Pu Yen Hsiang. This is not, however, an indication of an increase in the number or size of joint families or a decrease in family division. Family division has, in fact, increased as a result of land scarcity and other related factors. The increase in household size is probably the reflection of increase in the size of nuclear families as a result of a decrease in infant mortality and a general decrease in the death rate. For example, in the sixteen-month period during which this research

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TABLE 8

AVERAGE NUMBER OF PERSONS PER HOUSEHOLD, PU YEN HSIANG, 1953–1958

	1953	1954	1956	1957	1958
Total population	25,089	25,960	26,705	27,225	27,481
Number of households	4,476	4,525	4,665	4,705	4,715
Average number of persons per household	5.61	5.74	5.72	5.79	5.83

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TABLE 9

AGE GROUPS BY PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION IN TAIWAN (from Barclay, 1954a)

Ages	Percentages for 1930	1940	1950	1953
0–14	41.0	44.2	41.3	42.2
15–39	39.0	37.3	40.8	39.8
40–64	17.5	15.8	15.4	15.5
65 and over	2.5	2.7	2.5	2.5

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was carried on, Hsin Hsing village had twenty-two births and only five deaths. Of the latter, four were very old people in their eighties, and only one was an infant.

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In Hsin Hsing village in 1956, 82.8 percent of the population was below the age of forty. This is quite similar to what Barclay (1954a:48) notes for the whole Taiwanese population. (See Tables 9 and 10.)[12] Such figures indicate that the population of Taiwan and Hsin Hsing is comparatively young, but they represent villagers who were registered as having their residence in Hsin Hsing. Many villagers, especially young adult males, actually live, though temporarily, in Taipei where they work to supplement the family income. While a number of them have made the move permanent and are actually registered as

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437 Village farmers who grow wheat usually sell their whole crop to brokers who come regularly with their carts and haul away the sacks of wheat which they have purchased after a good deal of haggling with the farmer over the price. Although the final price is usually only slightly more or less than the general market price, both sides seem to enjoy the whole bargaining procedure. The few farmers who have a surplus of rice also sell it to these brokers; the process of the sale is as long and lively as that for wheat. In fact, bargaining seems to occur in all transactions concerning the sale of goods, though it is rather unusual when services are being arranged for.

FARM LABOR

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• [592] Except for the landlord who hires labor to do almost all the daily heavy work on his land, the members of the farmer's family usually do most of the work in the fields. A good deal of this everyday work is now done indiscriminately by men, women, and older children. However, besides these daily tasks there are special farming operations which regularly demand additional labor, often highly skilled or specialized. Thus, laborers are either hired and paid in cash, or labor is exchanged for such tasks as plowing, transplanting seedlings, weeding, and harvesting. Rice, sweet potatoes, mint and sugarcane are the main crops which require additional labor at various times. Securing the necessary labor becomes a special problem at rice-harvesting time, since the harvesting in the whole area must be completed in a limited period.

The additional labor is usually found in the farmer's own village or the surrounding area and on rarer occasions outside the area. Such labor often includes small land cultivators who are not at the time working on their own land and landless villagers. The landless or nearly landless villagers who work as laborers do so in addition to some other kind of work locally or in Taipei. Members of the families of larger land-operators may not necessarily have to hire out as laborers during the agricultural busy seasons, but they nevertheless frequently do so. How often they do this may depend on the amount of land and the kind of crops they are cultivating, how many available hands there are in the family and how old they are, and how busy they happen to be on their own land at the times when extra farm labor is in demand. Self-cultivators above middle-age do not usually hire out as laborers, but their children frequently do. In addition, a man who is planting a crop like sweet potatoes, which is harvested at a different time, may have free time during the rice harvesting season and hire out as a farm laborer.

000 The presence of women working on the farm has been quite ac-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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all of their families to live in the city, although they still maintained registration in the village. Others still maintain a household in the village, leaving an old mother or perhaps even a wife and daughters in the village house.

Other landless households consist of old people who, in the course of family division, left themselves landless by dividing their land among their sons. Such old people usually continue to live in their own house or apartment in the village and eat with their sons' families on a rotation basis.

In Hsin Hsing village there are many farming families who, like the landless, must engage in some form of supplementary activity to earn additional income. Of the 90 farming households, 40 cultivate less than 0.5 *chia* (1.2 acres) of land. (See Table 20.) Many of these families, and even some families which cultivate more than 0.5 *chia*, are too large for the income from so little land. To augment their income, some work as farm laborers and others as itinerant merchants, but most go to Taipei to seek work. In the near future the continued population increase and fractionalization of the land may force more and more of these families into the ranks of the landless.

Many of the benefits which should have resulted from the land reform—the rent reduction, the increased incentive to work the land, the increased crop production and the higher income from a greater application of fertilizer—are negated by a general rise in operating costs for the tiller. This is especially true for former tenants who bought land through the 1953 Land-to-the-Tiller Act; their annual payments on land purchased from the government come to a higher amount than would have been charged in rent (37.5 percent) for similar land. In addition, they now also bear all the operating costs on the land, which formerly were largely borne by the landlord. At the time of the research (1958) at least, this act in itself had not brought about any noteworthy increase in the standard of living.

Although the annual payments on the mortgage to the government do not exceed the 37.5 percent rent paid as tenants on private land or the 25 percent rent paid as tenants on the formerly public owned land, the financial burden is actually heavier than it was when the farmers were still tenants paying reduced rents. As Chang (1954:89–91) has pointed out,

> A new owner, so far as he has not fully paid the land price, is in fact a tenant. He has to assume a burden of duties and land price more than that of a bona fide tenant, and has to pay the operating expenses equal to those of a tenant, which are generally higher than those of owner-farmers. His income, too, like that of a tenant, is lower than that of owner-farmers. . . . The situation of new owners, within the coming ten years, will certainly be no better than that of tenants. But looking forward to [being a] full owner-farmer after ten years, when his burden will be only 14.82 percent of his

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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children who remain in the village. Although the women often help out in the field when the men are in the village working the land, their main concern is still running the households and tending the livestock. However, once the husband is gone, the wife must take on added responsibilities for the farm operations. She must hire people to plow, transplant seedlings, weed, and perhaps harvest the crop if the man cannot leave his work in Taipei. She must pay wages and arrange for the payment of taxes and exchange of rice for fertilizer. She must make many decisions, frequently without the benefit of her husband's counsel and opinion. In addition, she herself must spend a good deal of time in the fields supervising laborers or checking the flow of irrigation water. Her role in the household is greatly changed, as is her relationship to her children, since it is she alone who is responsible for their care and discipline (the problem is not so serious in extended family households where there is more than a single adult couple in the family).

Even the role of the older children is affected since they must assume tasks at much younger ages than they normally would. There is more work for them in the fields, and perhaps there are younger children to take care of while the mother is in the fields. Sometimes, children are kept so busy that they cannot attend school regularly.

Frequently, the separation of the husband from the family may prove unsatisfactory for everyone. The woman, burdened with added responsibilities of both household and land, may prefer to move to Taipei with her husband and so keep the family together. At the outset she may make occasional short visits to Taipei, and finally, if her husband has established himself in either a good job or a small business in Taipei, he will send for her and perhaps the children to live with him in Taipei. However, women whose husbands are not so well established in the city must continue in their unstable situation in the village.

Most village families or parts of families which have moved to Taipei live together in the Wan Hua section in a very small community of their own. In addition to the more than twenty Hsin Hsing village families congregated together in Wan Hua, there are more than sixty families in this section from the general area of Hsin Hsing. Before 1955 these village families were scattered all over the city, but now the Hsin Hsing village families and many families from nearby villages join together as a group to perform some of the same religious ceremonials they did in the village itself.

Once the whole family moves to Taipei, there seems to be a general weakening of ties with the native village, and they usually go back only for special festivals. In addition, it appears to be more and more usual for families who have made a success of a small business in

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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villagers feel a need to turn outward away from the village. Therefore, although the villagers themselves continue to see their local kinship-based organizations as *tsu*, not simply groups aimed at preserving a patrilineal tie, and also continue to try to make them function as *tsu*, their strong identity with, dependence on, and submission to the authority of their *tsu* organizations is now being undermined.

THE ECONOMIC FAMILY

In Hsin Hsing village the economic family, the *chia*, is the basic socioeconomic unit. It is "a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption, and having a common budget and common property" (Lang, 1946:13). The household or *hu* may in theory include temporary residents such as relatives or servants in addition to the members of the economic family. Since there are seldom additional people in Hsin Hsing families (or in families in the area generally), the *chia* and the *hu* almost always coincide in the village, and the average number of persons in it for Hsin Hsing is 6.1. It is the *hu* which is officially registered at the local Hsiang Public Office and as such is considered the official tax unit.[4]

The economic family in Hsin Hsing may take one of three forms—conjugal, stem, or joint; sometimes a family may change through all three forms over a relatively short period of time. The most prevalent type of family in Hsin Hsing is the conjugal, the *hsiao chia-t'ing* or "small family." This family "consists of man, wife or wives, and [unmarried] children. Families of this type may be either complete or 'broken;' the category includes childless couples, families consisting of . . . unmarried brothers and sisters, single persons . . ." (Lang, 1946:14). Others prefer to consider the latter two forms of unmarried siblings or single persons as subconjugal families. Thus, in Hsin Hsing village, sixty-five households (about 66 percent of the total) are conjugal. These comprise only about 55 percent of the total population, since the average conjugal family consists of only 5.18 persons.

For the villagers, the ideal form of economic family is the joint family (*ta chia-t'ing*), usually comprised of at least three generations, and preferably more. According to Lang (1946:14) the joint family includes "parents, their unmarried children, their married sons (more than one) and sons' wives and children" and sometimes other relatives. Or there may be only one of the older parents and the married sons and their families; in another variant the oldest brother "presides over his [unmarried sisters], married and unmarried brothers, with their wives and his children and their children . . ." (Lang, 1946:14).[5] One can more specifically refer to this type as a fraternal joint family.

However, in Hsin Hsing village the *ta chia-t'ing*, although usually

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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thought of by the villagers as an ideal type, is low in frequency of occurrence, as has been true for most of rural China. On the basis of the 1959 official population records for the village, only about 5 percent of the 99 households in the village could be considered joint families according to the definition. These five households consisted of 59 persons, about 10 percent of the total village population. The average joint family in Hsin Hsing contained 11.8 persons, considerably more than is found in the other family types.

The third type of economic family in Hsin Hsing is the stem family. In form, this lies somewhere between the joint and conjugal family types. The stem family in Hsin Hsing, following Lang's definition (1946:14–15), "consists of the parents, their unmarried children, and one married son with wife and children. The family of this type, too, can be broken, e.g., when only one of the parents is alive or the son has no children." Lang goes on to note that

> In China the stem family is not infrequently a reduced joint family. Some of the married sons break away from their parents after having stayed with them in a joint family; one of the sons and his wife and children continue to live with them until their death. But often the Chinese stem family is also an enlarged conjugal family. . . . A Chinese conjugal family which has only one son is enlarged when the son marries and brings his bride home, without being even temporarily separated from his parents.

According to this definition there are 29 stem families in Hsin Hsing, which make up about 29 percent of the total number of households. With an average of 7.3 persons per family, these comprise almost 35 percent of the village population. However, only a few stem families in Hsin Hsing represent a reduced joint family. Most are enlarged conjugal families in which one son has married and then had children. However, the process should be seen as cyclic. In many cases the head (*chia chang*) of a stem family was originally a member of a joint family which divided into conjugal families and then expanded into the present form of stem family.

Whatever form the economic family in the village may take, many of the basic features of the *chia* remain the same for all three. All the members of the *chia* live under one roof, except for a few who may work outside to supplement the family income and therefore live away from the village. The latter, however, are still part of the *chia*, although perhaps not part of the official household *hu*, depending upon where the individual is registered for residence. The *chia* is in theory supposed to function as a single cooperating unit in all of its activities —economic, social, religious, or any of the other areas of daily living. Therefore, all property—land, house, farm equipment, and general household furnishings—belong to the *chia* as a whole. Only personal clothing and items a woman brought into the house as part of her

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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dowry are considered to belong to the individual. Consequently if there is a divorce, the woman may take these things with her. Under such a system in the Hsin Hsing area, when a *chia* is dissolved as a cooperating economic unit, all sons are entitled to an equal share of all family property.

The structure of all types of economic family is hierarchal according to generation and age, and the oldest male, at least until his retirement, serves as family head (*chia chang*). However, the wife of the *chia chang* usually plays an important part in the making of family decisions, especially those related to household affairs or to important financial matters. Thus, in the joint family, while the authority within each of the several conjugal units lies with the husband and father of that unit, the ultimate authority for all members of the larger family theoretically lies with the *chia chang* and his wife.

In the joint or stem families of Hsin Hsing, however, it is common for all married sons (or the married son in the stem family) to share in most of the family's decision-making. This seems most true in the larger families where each adult male's financial contribution is indispensable to the continuation of the stem or joint form which the parents, above all, wish to maintain. In such situations, when making an important decision the *chia chang* willingly confers with the other adults in the family and may actually yield to their wishes. On the other hand, in larger families which are economically secure, since the *chia chang* has complete control of the family's economic assets, he appears to be much more dominant and authoritarian in imposing his will on the members of the *chia*.

Normally, as a *chia chang* in Hsin Hsing grows older, he gradually relinquishes his responsibilities to his oldest son, slowly training him to assume full family authority. Sometimes, however, the old *chia chang* is unwilling to retire and give up his authority. In such instances, the oldest son must gradually usurp the old man's powers, but this must be done delicately, or the village will criticize him as an unfilial son. Here, the old *chia chang's* loss of authority does not imply any loss of respect for him.

Even after his full retirement and the transfer of actual family authority to a son, it is quite common for the old man to retain the title of *chia chang* while the son performs all the duties. In such cases, the villagers are aware of the situation and respect it. Therefore, if they must choose or elect someone to fill a village office, they may name the old *chia chang* who is officially family head, understanding that it will be his son who assumes the duties of the position.

While each stem and joint family consists of at least two conjugal families, these conjugal families have, for the most part, a merely biological identity. All the functions it might have in other circum-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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[6] For a more detailed discussion of attitudes towards the land, see my "Chinese Peasant Values Toward the Land."

Chapter 3: Family and Kinship

[1] Freedman's (1958:2) "inflated families" would apparently be a group of related families oriented around their kinship relationship and in which the activities of the group are aimed primarily at the maintenance of their kinship ties. For such a group, kinship is both the basis of the relationships and also an end in itself. On the other hand, a lineage (*tsu*) uses its kinship relationships as a means to an end: to tie the group members together into an organization so that they might better exert sociopolitical influence to insure their own welfare and security.

[2] These 99 had a population of 609 persons and included members of village households who were working in Taipei. The figures, from October, 1959, will be used throughout the chapter because they are the most complete tabulations which can be used for a detailed breakdown of the village *tsu* groups and families. The figures used in the demographic section of Chapter 2 for 1958 made it possible to compare Hsin Hsing with the *hsiang* and Taiwan as a whole, since the 1959 figures for Pu Yen Hsiang and Taiwan were not available.

The decline in the general population and the number of families in Hsin Hsing which is reflected in the difference between the 1958 and 1959 figures (657 persons living in 115 households in 1958) represents the village's losses through urban migration. As noted in Chapter 4, whole families and members of families had gradually been moving to Taipei; the movement had increased somewhat in the previous two years. Further, many families which had only partially made the move now made it complete, thus changing their residence registration from Hsin Hsing to Taipei.

[3] It is difficult from this distance to ascertain just how such arrangements were worked out among the village *tsu* organizations. Like so many other ethnographic field studies, much of what is written in this book was analyzed from data only after leaving the field. Since my field research did not focus specifically on such questions as lineage cleavages, my data often are not detailed enough to carry either the description or analyses to their logical conclusions. Therefore, all I can do in such instances is to present and analyze the data as best I can and hope that it may have some value to others.

[4] Included in the registration of each household unit are such data as the number of people, ages, schooling, occupations, and temporary residences. However, little of this information is kept up-to-date by the local official appointed by the Public Office to act as village secretary. In addition, much of the information recorded is simply not accurate. For example, although many village women and girls engage in full-time local outside employment or perhaps are responsible for tending the family's fields, nevertheless, almost all women are officially recorded as housewives, with no indication of what they actually do.

[5] These definitions by Lang (1946:14) of nuclear (conjugal) and joint family forms approximate Murdock's definitions (1949:2). The Lang definitions for

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[For information on kê in the village of Hsiachichou, passim, see category 116, pp. 28-33, 84-105, 134-162, 207-225, 260 and 269-279.]

[Information on kê and chia (family) may also be found in categories 593 and 596.]

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Peihotien

epilogue

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SEPARATE STOVES

A few months after our return to America, we received a letter from a friend who had recently visited the Lims. The price was too high, the innovation has failed. The Lims have divided their property and established independent households. Lim A-bok continues to cultivate all the family land, but he now works Lim Chieng-cua's share of the land as a tenant. The family remains in the same house. They continue to share the guest hall and to worship there together, but some of the doors connecting their apartments have been nailed closed. The final admission of defeat is the presence of a new kitchen in the back of the house: they have divided the stove.

Our physical presence in the house was obviously the last delay of the inevitable. With our rooms scattered as they were through the building, it would have been difficult to arrange an equitable division without disturbing our living arrangements and creating even more controversy over the terms of the property settlement. The Americans and their rent were part of the estate. No matter how much she desired the division, even Lim A-pou was unwilling to have it take place with the acrimony common to most family divisions. If there had to be a step down, it must be made with dignity. Perhaps they viewed those final months of waiting as a sacrifice to Lim Han-ci—that his hope for a united family of many generations living under one roof might be a reality somewhere, even if only in the minds of foreigners.

Essentially, the house of Lim is no more. From the point of view of their neighbors, the Lims are "just like us now." They have returned to the cycle of growth and division which is the Chinese farmer's compromise with an ideal. But, on the altar in their guest hall there remains the ancestral tablet of Lim Han-ci. The strength of his personality and of his memory held them together for many years. In the end, it was not enough.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

Leading from both sides of the guest hall are hallways along which the bedrooms are located. Reflecting the principles of seniority found in the ancestral tablets, the members of the family are assigned sleeping rooms according to their status in the family. The head of the family takes the rooms to the right of the ancestors; his younger brother or married sons, the rooms to the left. An old grandmother usually shares a bed with her grandchildren, enjoying with the warmth of their young bodies the satisfaction that she has by her own efforts produced at least two more generations for the family. Some sleeping rooms in Peihotien are furnished with the traditional carved and canopied wooden beds, massive and often ugly; others contain only Japanese *tatami* sleeping platforms. The platforms have many advantages, particularly for families with numerous children, since their capacity is practically unlimited. They are also considerably cooler during the stifling summer nights when the old-fashioned, box-like beds become as hot as ovens.

The kitchen is usually located at one end of the rectangle, although some families house it in a shed at the back of the basic structure. Wherever it is, the central feature of the room is the large, square brick stove. Few families have the luxury of a room set aside for dining and are content to take their meals in one corner of the kitchen. If the room is too small, or if the family tends toward elegant living, they eat in the guest hall. Family meals are considerably less formal than Western meals. If the night is hot, a man fills his bowl with rice, tops it with whatever relish or vegetable his wife has provided, and then squats in the cool breeze of the doorway. His wife seldom sits at the table, eating her rice as best she can while supervising the children and watching the soup. The older children may follow their father's example and wander off into the yard, skillfully managing the rice bowl and chopsticks while watching a game of hopscotch. In large families this is the only way the meals can be managed, since it would be impossible for them all to sit down at once. The Chinese custom of feeding the men first is acknowledged but difficult to practice when the men's hours are determined by different occupations. More commonly the food is simply put on the table and whoever is there eats—at the table, if he likes, or on the back stoop, if he prefers.

When a man builds a house, his fondest dream is that within his lifetime one or even both of the wings will be added to the original rectangle to house his sons and married grandsons. In the ideal Taiwanese family several generations of fathers and sons live with

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

their wives under the same roof, sharing, under the supervision of the eldest male of the eldest generation, their labor and their wealth. This ideal is occasionally achieved by the wealthy, but among the poor, two married brothers rarely maintain a joint household after the death of their father. The wife of one is too sure that the wife of the other feeds her children more when it is her turn to cook, or that she shirks her share of the housework. While the brothers' mother is still living and active, she can control or at least mediate disputes in the kitchen, but the loser of any dispute is sure to whisper to her husband about the favoritism his parents are showing to the other brother's children. The relationship between brothers is often not sturdy enough to withstand the constant harrassment of their wives. As boys, the elder was required to yield to the younger in all things. If they quarreled, their parents punished the elder, regardless of who was in the right, since he was supposed "to know better." Yet as adults, their roles are reversed. The elder brother makes the decisions and the younger is expected to acquiesce. As often as not, the younger brother, quite unused to submission, finds this situation unbearable. As long as their father is alive, the decisions about managing the family property may be issued in his name, coating the younger brother's pill and delaying an open rupture. Often this is not enough and shortly after the younger's marriage, the brothers divide the family property, from then on retaining their earnings for the use of their own small families.

In most cases the two families created by the division remain under the same roof, but a strategic door is nailed shut to separate the two apartments, or a bamboo fence appears across the courtyard. They continue to use the guest hall equally, but its neatness and elegance decline noticeably if there is not a mother-in-law present to bully the young wives into greater attention. The most dramatic change occurs in the kitchen. If the guest hall can be considered the symbol of the larger family, the stove is the symbol of the living family. Members of a family are defined as those who share a cooking stove; the colloquial term for the act of family division is literally "the dividing of the stove." This identification of stove and family is so important that those who cannot afford to add a room to house the stove of a newly created family unit build a second stove in the same kitchen.

Over half of the houses in Peihotien have one of the intended wings and some have both. For all but two families, only the external

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

structure of their ideal is complete. Instead of housing a single, united family, the wings are filled with independent units, each with its own stove, each having broken from the main family at the time of a brother's marriage or a father's death. Instead of a large house, the structure can only be properly described as a compound, for in some of the older houses the families are related to each other only three or four generations back. Two families have kept the ideal after the death of their fathers. One is a pair of surprisingly amiable brothers, both of whom work out of the village at well-paid jobs, leaving their two wives, ten children, unmarried sister, and mother in an ample village home. The two wives are so alike they could be sisters and they work together in effortless cooperation. Before we left the village, however, one of the brothers had been transferred to a town too far away to return home more than once a week. His wife, knowing only too well how much business is contracted in what might be called Taiwanese night clubs, packed up her children and the furniture of her dowry and went to join him. Although the division was made with little fuss and continued good will, it was still recognized as a "dividing of the stove." The only family still retaining the eminence of being united under one authority when we left Peihotien was that of Lim Chieng-cua. This is the family with whom we lived and about whom the rest of this book is concerned. [121]

Lim Chieng-cua and his siblings were born and grew up in a small mud house much like their neighbors. In time a good many improvements were made in the house, but the family really wanted a new one, not additions and improvements. Lim Chieng-cua once told me, "Before we built this new house, we had a mud house with a thatch roof. Every time there was a typhoon my father and my older brother's wife and I had to stay up all night to tie the roof down so it wouldn't blow off. Oh, how badly we wanted a new house! We changed two rooms of the mud house to brick, we had a good kitchen, a room for bathing and a big wooden tub for heating bath water. We even had a hand pump and hardly anyone had a pump in those days, but our hearts weren't satisfied. Now we have a good brick house, and yet every time I see a better house, I wish we had a better one too." [515] [406]

It is characteristic of Lim Chieng-cua and his father that when they built their new house it was not quite like any other house in the village. It was a traditional house and in every way worthy of respect.

621 Individual villagers are combined into chia
592 (families) and hu (households). Although the two terms are not necessarily synonymous, in Sanlei they are effectively identical for each hu consists of a single chia. Although there is a range from one to nineteen, the average size of the chia is 6.2 members in Sanlei, and 6.25 members for all of Talei Li including Sanlei. These household averages are significantly larger than the 5.8 listed for Taiwan as a whole (United Nations Statistical Yearbook, 1969:712-3).

621 Although not listed in the official government
602 records, a number of chia in the village are combined into
613 several distinct agnatic corporate groups (see Chapter V). Historically, Sanlei was a single surname village but not all the agnatic groups in the village could specify the kinds of relationships they had to each other in detail. However, "all people bearing one surname were by that fact, agnates, for they were considered to be descendants of a common ancestor in the male line" (Freedman, 1958:4). Villagers with the same surname considered themselves to be kinsmen and surname exogamy was absolute! In the last forty years, families with other surnames have been locating in the village. However, the major surname, Liao, is possessed by over fifty per cent of the residents at present.

342 described above, do not permit this pattern of development while other village houses just deviate from the dominant pattern.

354 All but three village houses have electricity. Most houses have one outlet in each room while those with fewer outlets, maintain one in the kitchen and kung t'ing. One light is usually left burning all night in each house.

342 592 In order to indicate the kind and extent of household furnishings, a dwelling at the intermediate stage of development is indicated in Figure 4, i.e., the kung t'ing base of a planned "u" only is complete. In this household, fourteen people reside in a stem family consisting of a man and his wife, their son and his wife, and ten grandchildren. Their goal is expansion of the house into the previously described pattern as the descendants marry. Four of the grandchildren are male.

342 The house also reveals other typical patterns. Alternating rooms have an outside entrance and each room may be reached from any other without going outside. Although separate out-houses were common in the past, there is now a tendency to have a small attached room with a Japanese ceramic toilet inside. In this case, human waste is discharged into a concrete pit which can be reached through a manhole outside. A house will also have an internal bucket collection system because most people do not like to go out at night.

342 514 [177]

342 The plans of the above house also reveal a final
• 592 pattern. A single dwelling may contain many households. As family division occurs, maximum flexibility in room assignment can be achieved because many rooms have an external entrance. Since there is no plumbing, any room can easily become a kitchen. In spite of division, internal doors will seldom be blocked off unless a portion of the building is rented out to someone who is not a relative although this is relatively rare, only two cases in Sanlei village. There will seldom be more than one kung t'ing in a single dwelling unit. Internal bearing walls, those marking the regular ten and fifteen foot dimensions, are heavy and extend from floor to ceiling. Other internal walls are plywood, about six feet high, commencing one foot off the ground. The room arrangements tend to allow little real privacy but do promote circulation of air in hot weather.

Personal Property

511 In addition to the above, it seems worthwhile to cite a few figures with reference to material possessions to indicate the economic prosperity of the village. The use of certain key items as an economic index is a normal
511 technique in assessing prosperity. For example, the United
207 Nations Statistical Yearbook indicates that the number of radios in Taiwan increased from 77,000 in 1953 to

562 serious status inconsistency problem. After graduation
882 from grade school, girls can immediately find jobs with
[464] good pay in the factory while there are few equivalent opportunities for boys. Villagers sometimes claim that today, perhaps girls are worth more than boys.

Household Money Management

511 We had several households[5] keep detailed budgets
125 for us and periodically discussed budgets with all villagers. Among farmers, it is quite difficult to accurately discover the standard of living for they consume part of their crops without any purchase records and barter other items. The families with wage incomes are easier to evaluate and I have extrapolated from them to determine reasonable standards for the village.

592 Given the values usually associated with Chinese households, i.e., patrilocality, patriarchy, and a patrilineality, it might be logically predicted that a senior male would usually assume major responsibility for financial management of the budget but Sanlei data would refute the prediction as indicated in Table 4.

592 In 39.7% of the households, a man was primarily
593 responsible for managing the budget. In some cases, he gave his wife a periodic allowance for groceries and in others, he did most of the purchasing himself. In either case, he doled out money as requested for special

592 purposes. Women in these kind of households were seldom
593 fully aware of the monthly budget or family financial condition overall.

Table 4. Sex of Budget Manager by Household Type

Household Type	Number*	Male	Joint	Female
Extended	8	62.5%	25.0%	12.5%
Stem	25	40.0%	36.0%	24.0%
Nuclear	30	33.3%	26.7%	30.2%
Total	63	39.7%	30.2%	30.2%

*Omits three men living alone

In 30.2% of the households, the woman managed the budget and handled most of the money although men did participate in decisions regarding major acquisitions. These households are not really the mirror image of the male-managed households for although men (the non-managing sex) might be unaware of the breakdown of monthly expenditures, they usually knew the monthly total and were always quite familiar with the overall financial condition. Additionally, a man always had a personal allowance for which there was no accounting which he could spend on cigarettes, or whatever he liked, but it was often a very small amount. As implied in the previous paragraph, in the male-managed household, women did not know the financial condition nor did they receive a regular allowance.

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593 The third category, 30.2%, is listed as joint and includes those households which were really jointly managed or those which had a regular division of responsibility plus a few households which I could not accurately place in either category listed previously because of conflicting evidence. A joint management system is not unlike the practices connected with the management of an American joint checking account except that in Taiwan, especially in the rural areas, almost everything is on a cash basis. Therefore, all money coming into the house goes into a cash box and all disbursements are paid out of the box (leaving the receipt in its place). Instead of a monthly bank statement to balance, there are periodic conversations about who spent how much for what. Although there was a tendency to state that the male had the major responsibility in these households, it appeared to me that women were usually in effective control for they could rattle off the details of the expenditures with greater facility than men and both sexes also agreed that it was usually the female who initiated the conversation required to balance the accounts.

Most young men and women who earned wages turned their full pay over to their families to manage. However, each retained a regular small allowance (or turned over the money and got back an allowance) and were furnished extra money for expensive items such as clothing as needed.

592 593 It was not felt to be filial to ask directly for money but rather, one should hint about what is needed with the expectation that the parents would eventually suggest [562] the item should be purchased. Women were considered to be more perceptive than men at perceiving children's needs but, to maintain the value system which favors males, particularly the sub-role of the male head dispensing largess, it was not at all uncommon for a woman who managed the budget in a household to "sneak" money to her husband so he could give it to a son to purchase trousers or a watch. Everyone was aware of the practice but it was not discussed openly. Young people often said that it was best to let mother know if you wanted something for she was more likely to see the wish granted. Even in a household managed by a very dominant male, women used their superior powers of perceptiveness to inform their husbands indirectly about children's needs.

The figures in Table 4 further suggest that differences in the sex of the manager are related to the 596 household type. An extended family is the highly valued traditional form and is most likely to have a male manager. Extended households also tend to be larger, more traditional, and are almost always economically based on agri- 592 culture. The latter factor probably explains why the ex- 596 tended households have male managers for all three family types, even the nuclear, which are engaged in farming tend

592 [596] to have a male manager. This is probably related to the uncertainty and irregularity of income and the planning needed for the investments in seed, fertilizer, and insecticide before returns are achieved.

592 591 Although not displayed in Table 4, there is no relationship between the sex of the manager and a residence pattern of matrilocal as opposed to patrilocal.[6] I felt that matrilocal households would probably have a higher incidence of female managers than patrilocal households but this was not supported (see Chapter V).

592 All money earned by household members is considered to belong to the family pool which is managed for the overall good of the household. The male head, whether or not he is the manager of the pool, is expected to have a regular personal allowance and any unmarried son or daughter who has a job and is contributing to the pool should also have a regular allowance and money should be set aside for their weddings (bride price or dowry as the case may be). Only women and children who do not work have no regular allowance.

592 593 [824] [412] [29] There is one regular exception: married women make brooms and straw hats in their spare time and the money they earn for these activities does not go into the family pool nor is anyone in the family supposed to question what the woman does with this personal money. She may spend it for family treats like flavored shaved

[262] [426] [54] [388]

592 ice, she may spend it on herself by buying a luxury item
593 like a piece of jewelry, or she may just put it aside for
[262] security in her old age and also invest it in money lend-
426 ing clubs (see Chapter VI) or the post office. Several
454 women have accumulated quite large sums of personal money.
888

Although some village men have evening part-time activities that produce income, the money earned thereby is expected to go into the regular family pool. Thus, although men can more easily tap the family pool for their own wishes, only women have a source of money and retain savings which is exclusive.

Household Budgets

511 The following section contains a discussion of the yearly income and expenditures of the Liao Mou-tu family which was previously introduced as one of the wealthiest
[592] in the village. Members include Liao Mou-tu, his three sons, their respective wives, and the four children of each son for a total of 19 people (see Figure 5). The figures in Table 5 are rounded for convenience and include a profit and loss statement and statement of net worth. Currently, the family has no meaningful debts.

511 The family netted about $6,500.00 for the year as
592 indicated in Table 5. Since there were four adult males,
462 the money they expended hiring farm laborers about equaled the money they earned by hiring out. The three wives in

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 171]

511 the household are also important contributors to income by
592 means of a rotating division of labor. One is responsible
462 for the children and cleaning for five days; one is responsible for cooking and washing; and one is free to work in the fields. Every five days they switch jobs although all three prefer the relative freedom of the work in the fields. There are five other such rotating work teams in the village and many other pairs who share some rotating responsibilities.

511 Although the Liao Mou-tu family does not appear to have earned a meaningful surplus, the figures are deceiving for the family has invested very heavily in the orange trees (requiring much labor) which have not yet reached full production. Also, this past year, they jointly with Liao Mou-tu's brother, cleared and prepared land and planted 600 banana trees although none have yet matured. The [454] family will soon move into a much higher income bracket but has firm plans to continue investing any surplus in land and land development.

The above family might be contrasted with that of Liao Kao-mu who lives near the temple and represents the [592] middle status level in the village. His household includes his mother, wife, and two female children. He owns 511 463 .3 chia of mountain field on which he has planted oranges 465 but which as yet have produced no return and he commutes 24 days per month to Taipei where he is employed as a

511 talked to the township office about its acquisition.

842 Although both Liao Kao-mu and his mother are upset, his wife is currently employing an Intrauterine Device in order to prevent pregnancy. Liao wants another child or two, at least one boy, but as he says, there is not much one can do about it. His wife says she will probably have another child when the baby of the family is about three or four years old.

511 [383] [592] A third contrast is with the family of Lin An-hwei, a Mainlander who is an adopted-in husband. In his home are his wife, her parents, and his four children. He is
511 463 a skilled dynamiter in the mine and earns $100.00 per day
465 or an average of about $2,600.00 per month which would be sufficient to put the family in the middle status group in the village if Lin were not a Mainlander. He does no farming but does help around the house by tending the children. His wife has a small vegetable garden (about 20 feet square) for the kitchen and also works as a laborer picking tea and weeding and earns about $5,000.00 [434] per year. The family income totals over $31,000.00 each year.

511 However, the family is deeply in debt because the
736 two old parents are nearly blind and have recently had heavy medical expenses. The current situation in this family illustrates the previously discussed problem of the high dependency ratio in the village. Four small children

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

128 602 village populations. Finally, the structure and function of larger agnatic units are considered.

Family versus Household

592 According to Lang, the economic family, the chia, is a "unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage, or adoption, and having a common budget and common property" (1946:13). The chia is sometimes contrasted with the household, the hu, which could include such temporary residents as more distant relatives, servants, or workers. If common-law marriages are included along with regular marriage since they are so accepted in the village, the chia and hu are always identical in Sanlei Ts'un. Both the Sanlei villagers and I agree that the chia and hu in Sanlei are identical, consisting of the group who live together, share economics, and cook and eat together as a regular practice.

Household Registration

217 659 Formal population registration is required for all people in Taiwan. Sanlei records are maintained in the township office in Hsin Tien. The record, which is maintained by hu as the unit of registration, includes an identification number, the address of the family, the name of the head of the household (chia chang), and a brief history of the family including such information as relocations, divisions, etc. For each individual in the

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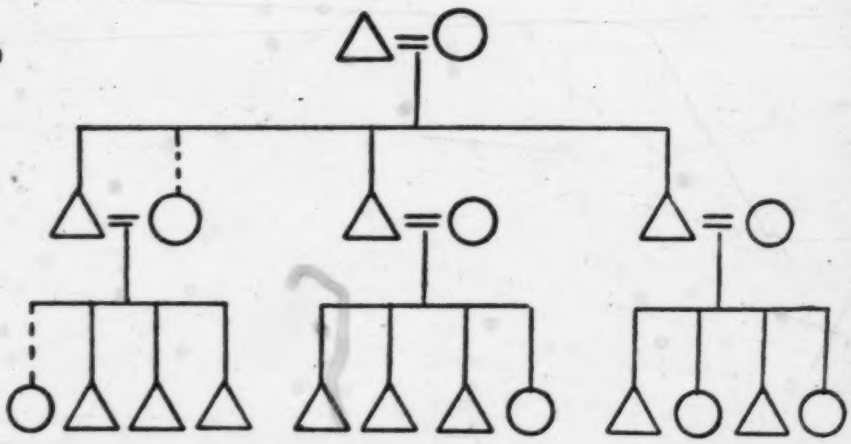

Figure 5. Kinship Diagram, Liao Mou-tu Chia.

[621] members with an average size of 8.1. 19.8% of Sanlei villagers are living in households of this type, ta chia t'ing (see Table 6).

592 A second type to be found in Sanlei is the stem family. The stem ranks between the extended and nuclear families in complexity. In accordance with Lang's definition (1946:14-15), there must be exactly two marriages in adjacent generations with one person from each marriage related lineally. In numbers of people, the minimum could be three, a married couple with one parent alive. The stem family deserves its special status because it tends to be a transitional form, rarely having permanent status. For example, when the first son marries and brings home his wife, a nuclear family becomes a stem family. It remains

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Table 6. Summary of Household Types in Sanlei Village

Type	Families		People		Size	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	Mean	Median
Extended	8	12.1	81	19.8	8.1	8.5
Stem	25	37.9	166	40.6	6.6	7.0
Nuclear	33	50.0	162	39.6	4.9	5.0
TOTAL	66	100.0	409	100.0	6.2	6.0

592 a stem family until either the son establishes a new residence resulting in two nuclear families, or both parents die, or until the second child marries and brings home a wife creating an extended family. There are 25 stem families in Sanlei, 37.9% of the 66 households, ranging in size from 3 to 14 members with an average size of 6.6. 40.6% of Sanlei villagers are living in households of this type (see Table 6).

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594 The final type of family is the conjugal or nuclear, the most elemental and simple. It consists, at a maximum, of a married couple with their unmarried children or at a minimum, of a single person living alone (Lang, 1946:14), the latter example perhaps stretching the concept of family to its ultimate absurdity. Including the three households which contain men living alone, there are 33 nuclear families, 50.0% of the 66 households, ranging in size up to 9 members with an average of 4.9 members. 39.6% of Sanlei villagers are living in nuclear households. If

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Table 8. Distribution of Surnames in Sanlei

Surname	Number of Individuals*	Number of Chia Chang**
Liao	180	36
Chang	34	5
Huang	29	2
Chien	23	4
Yu	22	2
Chiu	18	3
Wu	14	1
Lin	13	4
Ch'en	11	2
Hsu	10	2
Wang	7	1
Hsieh	7	-
Kao	5	1
Yuan	5	-
Chou	4	-
Chuang	2	1
Shih	1	1
Chiang	1	1
12 Other Names	23***	-
TOTAL	409	66

*Employing maiden names
**Head of Family (see next section)
***No more than 3 people per surname

Chia Chang

592 The chia chang, head of the family or household, constitutes a significant role in Chinese society. It is formally recognized in official records and in formal village social organization although official records (household registration) and informal recognition do not always coincide. For example, it is expected that men will start [886] to withdraw from active control of the family as they approach age 60, eventually turning all power over to the eldest son, or at least the oldest one who remains at home.

592 Although some men have strong personalities and resist this withdrawal from active control quite vigorously, 592 888 others are most happy to comply. Life in the village for the semi-retired old man seems to be most pleasant. Liao Tai-peng, the 72 year old temple caretaker, often states that he no longer has to worry about finances and does not really know his family condition as his oldest son has now taken on the burden of family care. In some cases, a son desires to assume control before his father is willing to give it up. This conflict may be particularly strong as the old man's sixtieth year passes and is often accentuated by the son's literacy and greater knowledge of new crops and techniques derived from the greater contact with the world outside the village. However, because of the strong values associated with filial piety, the son must be most careful not to push too hard and bring down the wrath of fellow villagers. Even when a man yields actual control to his son, there is seldom a change in the official records unless there has been a formal family division (discussed in a subsequent section). Thus, a man may be listed as the chia chang in spite of the fact his son is the effective head. In one case, the official chia chang is senile, frequently wets his pants, and is rarely lucid. He frequently wanders about the village especially in the bright sunshine, until led home by his grandchild.

592 562 Of the 66 chia chang appearing on the official records, 53 or 80% are male and 13 or 20% are female. This

[621]

592 562 latter figure appears high but is consistent with the arguments advanced in this paper, i.e., the structural position of women is not inferior to men to the degree suggested in the traditional literature. It is higher than the 12% chia chang who are female listed by Barclay for Taiwanese households in 1920 and 1930 (1954:182) and also exceeds the percentage in the previously mentioned Shihlin survey of nearly 14% (P.K.C. Liu, 1967:34). In the case of four of these Sanlei female heads, a husband or son is the practical or effective head. In the remaining nine however, the villagers recognize the woman as the effective head by inviting her participation as the family representative in such affairs as village meetings, the parent teachers association, and temple affairs. In six of the nine cases, there is an adult male who would be [624] capable of assuming responsibility. One woman during our stay in the village became the "assistant pot master" in charge of her lin (village subdivision) during the "Fire Purification" ceremony although she had an adopted husband at home.[8]

592 621 591 The birthplace of the current chia chang and the means by which they entered the village are indicative of the nature of village history with its emphasis on continuity. Of the 66, 49 were born in Sanlei and 3 were adopted-in as small children or babies. This means that nearly 80% of the chia chang were raised in Sanlei. Most

592 591 621 people, particularly mature adults, claim that their descendants will always remain in Sanlei. Indeed, the following is one of the arguments used to break up a debate between two villagers before it gets too serious, "Is this argument important enough to have your great grandchildren continue it 30 years from now? Remember they will be neighbors!" (see Glossary C).

592 621 166 Fourteen chia chang migrated to the village, eight from one of the other four villages in Talei Li. As previously stated, the establishment of the government Communication Bureau in Wulei at the end of Talei Li forced the migration of Wulei villagers who settled, for the most part, in other villages in the li with primary attention to Sxulei and secondarily, to Sanlei. The other intra-li movement results from the fact that Erhlei Ts'un is more modern than Sanlei and has a higher percentage of its population engaged in non-agricultural economic pursuits. There has been some movement of farmers from Erhlei to Sanlei and the reciprocal movement of non-farmers from Sanlei to Erhlei.

The six chia chang not yet identified all came from outside the li. A retired Mainland soldier who lives by himself and works in a nearby coal mine came to Sanlei merely because he does not want to live in the mine dormitory (it is too much like the army) and because a small rude house was available for rent. The remaining five chia chang all migrated from other villages in the same

166 township of Hsin Tien. Three of these came from the moun-
592 tain areas adjacent to Talei Li because of the convenience
621 of the transportation system to town and the presence of electricity in Sanlei but not in the mountain area.

166 In summary then, of the 66 chia chang, 63 were
591 raised within three miles of the center of the village.
592 This data emphasizes the continuity of the Sanlei popula-
621 tion.

Processes Changing Family Size

592 There are various standard mechanisms for increasing the size of a family unit. Assuming the basic dyadic unit in a family consists of a cohabiting adult male and female, the most common means for adding members is through reproduction. This means is assumed for Sanlei Ts'un and will not be explicitly considered in a separate section of this
592 chapter. Adoption is a process available in most societies
597 to add members who are the equivalent of natural children. Adoption is common in Sanlei but varies in accordance with the sex of the child and with the kinds of relationships
592 established between the two families involved. Members may also be added by marriage which also varies in accordance with the sex of the individual added and also at the stage of the individual life cycle when the marriage proc-
27 ess is started and consumated. Any of the above changes
597 must be registered in the official records. If the change is marriage or adoption, it will be reflected in two

217 household registrations, the home of origin and the home
• 592 of destination.

592 Another concept to be considered in family size is the creation of new independent units. In Sanlei, death must be registered but a death never creates a new unit, for any unit continues in spite of membership changes. New units are only created by the process of family division, a formal event which must be registered in the public office. In a division into two or more new units, one of the new units will usually be considered as a continuation of the old. It is possible, however, for a family unit to disappear. As previously stated, a unit may consist of only one person and this unit would disappear with his death or adoption or if the individual married into another unit.

125 Again, because of the errors associated with the
592 official records, the following discussion is based on data which was gathered through interviews in the village. Marriages were only considered if one of the original partners was still alive and residing in the village. There was at least one interview with each living spouse. There were 94 marriages which met this requirement, but this meant more than 94 interviews for in many cases both
[547] partners were still alive. Similarly, adoptions were only considered if one of the original participants was still living in the village. This was usually one of the

125 adopting-in or adopting-out parents but in a few cases,
• 582
597 only the adopted child.

Regular Marriage

58 There is a traditional ideal form of marriage, one
[83] arranged by a matchmaker between two families who are strangers or who are at least not already related, the boy's family slightly richer than the girl's, and with the couple residing permanently in the home of the groom's father. This marriage should occur when the male completes his military service and he should be two to four years older than his wife but a greater age span is acceptable.

582 Although all but patrilineal parallel cousin marriages are permitted for parts of China, no cousin marriages were recorded for Sanlei Ts'un as villagers claimed they were acceptable but undesirable. This differs from Gallin's study on Taiwan's West Central plain where cousin marriages were estimated to total about four per cent (1966:153). There is absolute surname exogamy. Additionally, although not as strongly sanctioned, marriage between members of certain paired surnames are not permitted, i.e., Chien and Liao, although there was one example in the village. Outside of these restrictions, there is no patterned regularity indicating certain surnames commonly marry each other. Statistically, there is a strong tendency towards

121 769 [171] (which in many respects are similar to Chinese shrines) are only supposed to contain patrilineal ancestors of the household head. However, in spite of the fact the heads of households he surveyed claimed that only proper tablets were in their shrines, Smith discovered (by physically examining the actual tablets) many tablets which did not belong, i.e., affinal relatives. A similar kind of actual check of tablets and censers in Taiwan might provide similar kinds of results, i.e., deviance from the Great Tradition in the direction suggested by the Sanlei data.

Professor Smith's report also supports the argument I advanced in Chapter I, i.e., the Great Tradition strongly influences anthropologists and indigenous members of the society as well. As far as I know (my familiarity with the Japanese sources is limited), Smith's account was the first to note that many ancestral tablets were "falsely" located in various shrines. His discovery was easily accomplished by merely going around and counting tablets, but it was not easily accomplished in the sense that a belief which he previously had internalized had to be questioned and overcome (see Chapter I and Chapter X).

Worship Units

782 592 The significant worship unit is the individual but he often acts as a representative of a family for family units rarely perform a religious act collectively. Instead,

one individual performs the act while others observe. There are only two kinds of occasions I observed during the study when there are joint performances: a teaching situation with an older individual and a child performing the same rite; or when hired priests collectively participate in a ceremony such as a funeral. Most worship is by an individual representing his family, nuclear up to extended or compound, and often including deceased members.

For 64 of the 66 Sanlei households, one representative, usually the oldest male in the household, worships in the kung t'ing each morning and evening with incense. There is no ritual gathering to observe the worship. Where more than one household share ownership of the kung t'ing, i.e., in a compound, only one representative for the compound is necessary and usual. On the first and fifteenth or second and sixteenth of each lunar month, worship offerings include special rich food such as many meat and fish dishes and the family usually does gather to observe the worship in 59 of the 66 households.

On the community level, there is worship for the various special holidays, but each household's sacrifice is offered separately and returned to be consumed separately. There are often parties with guests present on special days but even then the food is kept separate in each household. Only in some compounds with a joint kung

527 t'ing is food comingled and even there, the practice is
592 relatively rare. I attended one big dinner in a compound
574 kung t'ing of two families. There were two tables with identical menues although food for each was prepared in separate kitchens. I ate part of the meal at each table, oldest brother's first. It was a single party with much joking and drinking games and although wine and cigarettes were passed between tables, the food remained distinct. To have many guests is desirable so that frequently at large affairs, the host is out on the street bringing in guests and he never does sit and eat. Since meals are usually served in courses, one dish at a time, it is possible for a guest to only stay long enough for one or two courses, and thus, be able to visit many different homes in a single evening.

796 Beyond the community, only the li and li temple are
632 important in religious activities. The li consists of five villages which have historically cooperated in maintenance of a single temple. On some occasions, sacrifices are brought to the li temple rather than the Sanlei temple but if the li is involved, usually to both. Hired priests and/or entertainment may be at the li temple as well as the village.

796 There is very little joint worship beyond the li and although some holidays are national, Talei Li does not cooperate with others in celebration. The only unit larger

562 [591] [595] number were matrilocal (see Chapter V). Moreover, many households have officially registered female heads. W. 562 Gamble points out that while "some authorities say that a 592 woman is never recognized as the head of a family," he found that four per cent of the official heads among 5,225 families surveyed in 1930 in North China were females (1954: 28).

Whenever concrete data are provided in place of the more frequent set of summaries or abstractions, the same picture of numerous exceptions emerges. Too often, the exceptions have been simply dismissed, even when the exceptions are more numerous than the ideal dominant pattern.

The numerous exceptions to the normal patrilocal male-headed households found in any Chinese village provided alternative models for the behavior of women living in the traditionally structured households. If all women were living in the same kind of structural situation, there would likely be but few major role patterns. In fact, in Sanlei, there were women who were heads of households (with and without living husbands), women living in extended families, nuclear families, and stem families, etc. Since women's work groups are quite intimate and living conditions are such that no one has much privacy, everyone is soon aware of the content of each other's role relationships.

562 Outside the household, women are undoubtedly inferior to men in Sanlei Ts'un and probably in most of China as